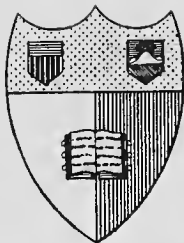


THE GERMAN CONSPIRACY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

GUSTAVUS
OHLINGER

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THE GERMAN CONSPIRACY
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

GUSTAVUS OHLINGER

THE
GERMAN CONSPIRACY
IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

BY

GUSTAVUS OHLINGER

CAPTAIN U. S. A.

Author of "Their True Faith and Allegiance," etc.



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PREFACE

DURING the years 1904 and 1905 the writer was brought into frequent contact with German officials and into professional relations with German courts, particularly the German consular courts of China.

It was during this period that the Chinese government was pressing its demands for a relaxation of the laws excluding its subjects from the United States. Its efforts in this direction gathered popular support in all parts of the Empire—a strange circumstance in view of the traditional apathy toward public policies which the Chinese, until then, had maintained. But on this question the entire nation became aroused. Before long, walls were plastered with posters demanding a boycott of American goods, and circulars urging this retaliatory measure were passed from hand to hand. Goods of American origin were immediately

spotted and labelled, and then left to lie uncalled for in the godowns.

During a visit to Tsingtau, the capital of the German Kiaochow Protectorate, the writer had occasion to go through the printing establishment maintained by the German government for its official publications. There, to his astonishment, he found the presses busy turning out boycott literature. In the meantime German merchants were taking advantage of the embarrassment of American trade to introduce their substitutes.

This incident is characteristic. The technique of German propaganda consists in seeking out the differences to which race, religion, language, industrial or economic condition may give rise, in inflaming such differences into bitter animosities, and then in profiting either from the disintegration produced within an opposing nation, or from the quarrels among political or commercial competitors.

The rivalries among the liberated nationalities of Europe, the possible misunderstandings and differences among the peoples

who have fought the war for freedom, will undoubtedly, in the future, furnish fresh opportunities for German propaganda. Against this propaganda, and its resulting disintegration and dissension, we must still stand guard.

G. O.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I A PART OF THE HIGHER STRATEGY . . .	9
II CONDITIONS FAVOURING THE CONSPIRACY .	21
III THE UNDERMINING OF AMERICAN EDUCATION	42
IV GERMAN PROPAGANDA THROUGH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES	92
V NEW IDEALS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION .	104

**THE GERMAN CONSPIRACY IN
AMERICAN EDUCATION**

THE GERMAN CONSPIRACY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

I

A PART OF THE HIGHER STRATEGY

AGAIN and again during the past year there has been presented to the American public sensational evidence of the conspiracies set on foot in the United States by Germany's accredited diplomatic and consular officials as well as by her less conspicuous hirelings. The plots having for their object the dynamiting of the Welland Canal, the destruction of the Port Huron tunnel and of the Vanceboro bridge, the blowing up of factories in Detroit and other cities, the sinking of ships at sea by time bombs, the organisation of armed expeditions against Canada and India, the forging of American passports, the inciting of revolution in Ireland,

the fomenting of strikes in American industries and the corruption of American public opinion—all these have been laid bare in convincing detail. The history of diplomatic intercourse offers no parallel to these outrages upon our peace and security perpetrated by the representatives of a power which, at the time, was protesting the friendliest intentions.

These plots, however, recede into the background when viewed in relation to the far more dangerous and insidious conspiracy which Germany, through her agents, sympathisers and dupes, has prosecuted against American education. Bridges, canals, factories and ships are mere physical properties, easily replaced. Our public education, on the other hand, represents infinitely higher values. In our schools are transmitted the traditions of the past; there the ideals for the future are formulated; there are generated those moral forces which bind us together and vitalise us as a nation. They are the repositories of our national spirit, and national spirit cannot be made to order. It is born of the travail of history, of the sacrifices of countless thousands in the past, of the work of those rare geniuses that flash upon a nation's

horizon as infrequently and mysteriously as comets from an unknown stellar system. Once perverted or destroyed, it cannot be restored. With it, there succumbs the nation, and the nation's institutions and achievements pass into history. The plots engineered by Kaltschmidt, Koenig, von Igel, Consul General Bopp, von Papen, Boy-Ed, Ambassador Bernstorff and their retinue of lesser malefactors have furnished the press frequent opportunities for sensational headlines. But the activities of these men are insignificant when compared with the insidious and far-reaching conspiracy against our education.

In a very practical sense our schools are the citadel of our national strength. Napoleon declared that in war the moral is to the physical as three to one. Neither numbers nor equipment can take the place of the moral qualities of determination and discipline. Prior to the French Revolution, the wars of Europe were waged by comparatively small armies, made up of professional soldiers and hired mercenaries. The paltry thousands commanded by Marlborough, Prince Eugene, Wallenstein and Frederick the Great could be welded into fairly

intelligent and effective unity by the will and prestige of a great commander. The professional soldier was stimulated by the same desires for reward and success that inspire the efforts of men in every other occupation; the mercenary was incited by the lust for booty.

But with the development of the nationalistic state, the art of warfare passed into a new stage. To-day wars are waged by nations, by entire races. The professional soldier and the mercenary have disappeared. It is no longer the will of a great commander, the prestige of a successful general, motives of self-interest or of professional pride that furnish the moral factors for combat. The civilian who enters the ranks leaves behind him his private interests, his volition, to a large extent his individuality. Their places are taken by the collective interest and personality of the nation. The soldier becomes the embodiment of the national soul and through him the state finds expression. The morale of the soldier, therefore, depends upon those traditions, views of life, and instincts, which he has acquired in common with the other members of his nation, —those things which the state has imparted

through collective education. As a recent military text-book expresses it:

the spirit of good infantry is first of all given by the first moral education of the man; it may depend on an ideal; on a fanaticism; it is a function of the public spirit of the mass of the population.

Collective education given by society is the only means which will assure to the army the cohesion necessary to march to victory. The task must be assumed by the mass of the people—in the home, the school, the workshop. The spirit of duty and discipline must be cultivated by the mass of the people or it will not exist in the depths of their being.

Strangely enough, the Germans, though the latest to experience the effects of the movement towards national unity, have been the first to put into practice the change which it has necessitated in the military art.

Germany's educational system was designed to meet the requirements, as she analysed them, of national wars and national armies. She adapted her schools to the respective rôles which she intended the different elements of her population to play in the national scheme. The *Volksschulen*, often cited erroneously as

corresponding to our public schools, were provided for the great mass of the population. Here, between the ages of six and fourteen, they had instilled into their minds the precepts of the divine sovereignty of the Kaiser, of the beneficence of this rule, and of obedience to authority. They were impressed with the immense advantages inherent in their form of government and with the superiority of their *Kultur*; they were told again and again that their advancement and prosperity had aroused the jealousy and hostility of neighbouring nations, and through constant iteration they were accustomed to regarding military preparation as necessary and war as inevitable. Day by day they were put through a mental goose-step until their minds were fashioned to a single pattern and they were made into docile and efficient subjects.

These were the privates in Germany's militaristic organisation.

For those who were to fill the lower administrative ranks there were provided the *Mittelschulen*. Finally, for those destined for command, there were the *Gymnasia*, taking boys between the ages of nine and eighteen, and

then the universities. Here Germany trained the oligarchy of thinkers and experts which prescribed what the rest of the population should know and believe, and what their tasks should be. The line between the *Volksschulen*, on the one hand, and the *Gymnasia* and universities on the other, was drawn as rigidly as that separating the enlisted personnel from the officers in the army.

In this manner the minds of the nation were regimented and the moral forces for Germany's military machine provided.

Just as Germany planned her own educational system with reference to her military power, so she sought, as a part of her higher strategy, to enhance her superiority by insinuating herself into the moral and intellectual life of foreign countries. German schools and churches abroad she set down as important outposts of her power. If, in addition to supporting these institutions, she could introduce her agents into the native education, there disseminate doubt as to the validity of native traditions and with regard to the adequacy of established institutions, replace national spirit by a shallow cosmopolitanism,

and foster an admiration of *Kultur* to the disparagement of national achievements,—then she could sap the very sources of moral resistance. It would be an easy matter to fit the people with a coat of *Kultur* cut to her own measure and according to her own patterns. This accomplished, political domination would come in due course, either through voluntary submission, or after a short war in which every moral and material advantage was with the aggressor.

The evidences of this programme, a definite part of Germany's higher strategy, are writ large over the parochial schools, the public schools and the colleges and universities of America—they are as unmistakable as the gun emplacements which Germany built within the territory of her friendly neighbours. The purpose of both was the same—military conquest and political domination.

The first organised effort in this programme of *Kulturpolitik* took place in 1881. In this year there was formed "The General School Alliance for the Preservation of Germanism in Foreign Lands" (*Allgemeiner deutscher*

Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschthums im Auslande). "Not a man can we spare,"—so read its declaration of principles,—"if we expect to hold our own against the one-hundred-and-twenty-five millions who already speak the English language and who have pre-empted the most desirable fields for expansion." It declared its purposes to be the preservation and promotion of Germanism among the thirty million people of German blood dwelling outside the boundaries of the Empire, and the strengthening of the ties binding them to the Fatherland, in this way making them valuable and loyal elements in Germany's national life. The "Pan-German Alliance" (*Alldeutscher Verband*) was inspired by the fanatical belief in Germany's destiny as a world empire, the School Alliance, by the ambition to make the German language the world language and to impose *Kultur* upon every race. One ambition was merely the complement of the other; the cultural work of the School Alliance was an important means for the achievement of the military and political objects of the Pan-Germanists.

The School Alliance established schools and

libraries in foreign lands, kept in touch with those already in existence, and, where necessary, rendered financial aid. It maintained a teachers' bureau for the purpose of supplying German-trained educators wherever needed. A few years ago the Alliance was merged into the "Society for Germanism in Foreign Lands" (*Verein für das Deutschthum im Auslande*) and its activities were widened and pursued with increasing energy. The German government assisted with an annual subvention of a million marks. The society now undertook to segregate the German immigrant populations from the native populations in foreign lands, to give them solidarity socially and economically, and to organise them into political units which would influence the policies of the governments under which they lived in favour of German schemes. To facilitate the creation of a state within the state, the society procured the enactment of the notorious Delbrück Law. A German could now, even after naturalisation in a foreign country, remain to all intents a German subject. Such a man readily perverted his acquired citizenship, together

with the rights it afforded, to the purposes of his old allegiance.

Not content with its own people, the society carried its propaganda into the native populations of foreign countries. "German schools abroad," so it declared, "should not only preserve German nationality among the children of German immigrants, but should impart German *Kultur* to the youth of the countries where they operate." In these terms German scholars and technicians, who were called to educational positions abroad, conceived their mission.

Nowhere did the *Verein* operate so actively or so successfully as in the United States. For years it maintained its secret agents in our midst, working in favour of German language schools and pulling wires for a German political party. German teachers laboured incessantly to convert the so-called "Anglo-Saxon" section of the population into janizaries of *Kultur*. "The spirit of German *Kultur*,"—so said one of these propagandists occupying a high position in an American university,— "must finally seize upon the entire educational system of America. We must practise *Kul-*

turpolitik in the highest and noblest sense.” “Not only North America, but the whole of America must become the bulwark of Germanic *Kultur*,” exclaimed a prominent Pan-German as far back as 1906. “It should be the task of Germans in America not to rest until ‘Americanising’ means the same thing as ‘Germanising,’ ” echoed the self-constituted leaders of the German element in the United States.

Reviewing in 1909 its work in America, the Society for Germanism in Foreign Lands was able to set down that “had this annual meeting brought nothing more to the *Verein* than the inspiring report of Germanism in North America, the expressions of common interests and the promises for future co-operation, those things alone would have been of immense significance for our cause.”

The war between Germany and the United States began nominally on April 6th, 1917. In reality Germany had begun her scheme of subjugation at least twenty years ago.

II

CONDITIONS FAVOURING THE
CONSPIRACY

CONDITIONS in America have, from the beginning, been exceptionally favourable to Germany's plans.

In 1910 there were in our population no less than twenty-five millions of people who were either wholly or partly of German descent. Included in this number were three millions who were natives of Germany. Among the latter were over half a million reservists—men, that is to say, who had received at least one year of training in the German army and with whom the German government, through her consular officials, kept in constant touch in anticipation of the occasion that would require their services.

Of all the immigrations to the United States, that from Germany has continued over the longest period, and, next to the immigration

from the British Isles, has contributed the largest number to our population. The varying character of this immigration has reflected pretty accurately the conditions in the homeland. Beginning in 1683, and during a large part of the eighteenth century, there came the sectaries seeking religious liberty. They brought with them religious enthusiasm and sentimental attachment for the language and customs of their old home, but they were entirely devoid of pride of country and of national consciousness. It was community of religious beliefs, rather than race or origin, that led them to establish themselves in Pennsylvania, New York, and North and South Carolina in self-sufficient, compact communities.

In the first half of the nineteenth century there followed the political idealists, the products of the political upheavals of 1820 and 1832 and of the revolution of 1848. They sought America as a refuge where they might work out the national aspirations thwarted by the narrow particularism of their petty princes. These men, graduates, most of them, of German universities, brought with them an intense

pride of nationality and at the same time a bitter hostility for the political and social conditions which they had left behind. There was nothing in the institutions of the Germany of their day to command their allegiance. What they hoped for was an ideal Germany in America. Under the influence of their intense nationalism, their fellow-countrymen in the United States began to organise themselves into societies on racial lines, preserving thereby those things which, to their minds, made up the Germany of their dreams. In 1849, there was organised the "National Sängerbund." The Turners formed a national organisation in 1850; and so it was with many other associations in which intellectual gymnastics and national poetry and literature were cultivated.

But the great waves of immigration, which, gathering volume in the 70's, finally reached their flood in the 80's, came from entirely different impulses. What these millions sought was neither religious freedom nor political liberty, but economic opportunity. No longer as outcasts or as refugees did they enter our gates, but as representatives of an empire of

whose achievements they were proud and of whose future they vaguely hoped to remain a part. They combined attachment for their language and traditions with intense national consciousness and pride of country. As German power and prestige in Europe increased, so every year arriving immigrants manifested an increasing racial solidarity which tended to make the processes of assimilation increasingly difficult. They clung more and more tenaciously to their language and customs; they drew together into their own societies, churches, and groups in which the German language was used and in which the intellectual outlook was obtained through a German language press.

The new spirit was strikingly manifested in Wisconsin some twenty-five years ago. In 1888 William Dempster Hoard was elected governor. He discovered that forty-seven thousand children, constituting fourteen per centum of the total school population of the state, were not attending school at all; further, that in one hundred and twenty-nine German Lutheran schools the pupils were receiving no

instruction whatever in English, the language of their country.

This led to the enactment in 1889 of the so-called Bennett School Law. It required the attendance of all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years upon some public or private day school. The law further provided that no educational institution should be regarded as a school within the intent of the act unless there were taught therein reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history through the medium of the English language.

The law immediately became the object of the most bitter attacks, and a political movement was inaugurated looking to its repeal. Churches having parochial schools organised to defeat Governor Hoard at the polls. Their opposition accomplished what nothing else had succeeded in doing since the days of Luther—it united the German Lutherans and German Catholics in one political party for one purpose. Governor Hoard was defeated and the Bennett law was repealed. Since then certain of the German element in Wisconsin have frequently made the boast that their state is the most German of any state in the Union,—a

statement which has been fully endorsed by the action of the Pan-German League in listing Milwaukee in its roster of German Cities.

From the beginning, America has been hospitable to foreign customs and ideas. The ties of tradition which bound the colonies to England were severed, for the most part, by the Revolutionary War. The process was completed by the War of 1812. Later on, the diplomatic difficulties of the Civil War—the recognition of the Southern States, the “Trent Affair” and the “Alabama Claims”—served to accentuate in American life a surviving prejudice against the country from which we inherited the institutions we prize most highly. For fifty years the sport of “twisting the lion’s tail” continued to be the favourite device of every demagogue and cheap politician who wished to attract attention. The further the new immigrants pushed into the wilderness and out onto the prairies, the less was there of local tradition in their way, and the conditions for the preservation of their language and for maintaining their national traditions became the more favourable. In this way Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Missouri received a German

population which fostered, without opposition or unfavourable influences, the German language, German schools, and a German press.

The severance of English traditions had a marked influence upon the educators and leaders of thought in America. There was no longer any attraction of sentiment or tradition to draw them to Oxford or Cambridge. Young and ambitious scholars felt free to roam where their tastes and their enthusiasms attracted them. Following the lead of George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and George Bancroft, American scholars began to visit the Universities of Göttingen, Berlin, Leipsic and Halle. Previous to 1850 about one hundred Americans had enjoyed the advantages of these institutions. During the latter half of the century the number increased rapidly every year until it was asserted recently that there was not an instructor or a professor in any college or university in America who had not either studied in Germany or had not come under the influence of some one who had drunk at the fountain of German learning. "For forty years," says President William W. Guth of Goucher College, "Germany has so influ-

enced our own scholars and given many of them such a twist mentally, that they have been unable to see how favourable they have been to ideas and opinions purely German."

The thousands of professors and instructors who had enjoyed the advantages of German universities were destined to affect profoundly American sentiment. Their impressions of Germany were received through the glamour of student days,—at a time, too, when the philosophy of Treitschke and of Nietzsche, and the applications of Bernhardt had not, as yet, been solidified into a national creed. Germany for them was still the land of romance and of poetry, the land of the universities and of profound scholarship. The old watchwords, *Wissenschaft*, *Lernfreiheit*, and *Lehrfreiheit*, still resounded in their ears, though long since silenced in the land that gave them birth; they failed to recognise in modern Germany the Frankenstein that had created in the state a monster devoid of all ethical principle and moral restraint—a monster which was even then destroying the fairest children of the German heart. Even those who, like Benjamin Ide Wheeler, listened to the lectures of Treit-

schke failed to appraise the work and influence of this mighty artificer. The real Germany, as he confessed four years ago in the *Fatherland*, was still the Germany of the universities,—the Germany of the army, of the government, of law and order, was merely the outer shell which made the inner life possible; he recounts an interview which he had with the Kaiser in Potsdam in June, 1913, and concludes with the statement that “whoever is responsible for bringing about the war or letting it come about, bears before the high court of humanity a heavy indictment. . . . But whoever it was and whatever it was, and however the blame may be apportioned among various men and organisations of men, this much can now be asserted beyond the shadow of a doubt—the war came about against the interests, against the desires, and against the efforts of the German Kaiser.”

These scholars Germany prepared to use as a support for her policy. In 1902 Prince Henry made his memorable visit to the United States. Four hundred *Kommilitonen*, former students of German universities, banqueted in his honour in New York City. Amid toasts and

speeches, mighty *salamanders* and telegrams of congratulation to the Kaiser, their *Kommilito* of Bonn University, the "Union of Old German Students" (*Vereinigung alter deutscher Studenten in Amerika*), came into being. From that time on its annual banquets and *Kommers* served to strengthen and keep alive the impressions of student days. "These Americans who have attended German universities are permanently inoculated with the German virus," exclaimed Carl Beck, the first president of the Union. "They have only good things to tell of Germany. Even for German immoralities they have words of extenuation—yes, they go so far in their courtesies as even to imitate our faults!"

Then came the exchange professorships. In 1904 Harvard entered into an arrangement with the Prussian Ministry of Education whereby one of its professors and one from Berlin University should, every year, enter for three months the teaching staff of the other institution. Soon thereafter the Kaiser offered to extend the scope of the agreement to other universities in America and Germany. Columbia took advantage of the offer in 1905.

James Speyer endowed still another exchange professorship at the University of Berlin. In 1912 Jacob H. Schiff presented the German Department of Cornell University with one hundred thousand dollars as a foundation for the promotion of German *Kultur* in America. In 1911 Wisconsin citizens of German descent raised a fund of thirty thousand dollars and gave it in trust to the regents of the state university "for the maintenance of a professor's chair, to be known as the Carl Schurz Memorial Professorship, which is to be filled from time to time and for such lengths of time as will be found advisable by visiting professors of recognised character and standing from the universities of Germany." The University of Chicago also instituted an informal exchange of lecturers.

It is more than doubtful that the exchange professorships contributed in any way to scholarship. Even in Germany they were regarded as a sort of court hobby, a good publicity enterprise. In most American universities, it is said, they proved absolute failures. But they did aid German purposes. Such men as Eugene Kuehnemann, Eduard Meyer, Moritz J.

Bonn, and Hermann Oncken stepped aside from their purely academic duties to spread the tenets of Pan-Germanism among their countrymen in America. The American professors, falling victims to the attention they received in Germany, became infected with the virus of modern Germanism and upon their return spread the infection among their colleagues. How else can one account for the strange mental twist that caused such a profound student of constitutional history as John W. Burgess to tell his countrymen that "there is no longer a British constitution according to American ideas of constitutional government. . . . In this only true sense of constitutional government the British government is a despotism. . . . The Russian economic and political systems have more points of likeness with the British than is usually conceded"? How otherwise could he have been brought to tell Americans that "down to August 1, 1914, German diplomacy, backed by German militarism, had been able to keep the peril from the east and from the west apart and to give to Continental Europe such a period of peace and prosperity as it had never before enjoyed, but on that

eventful day British diplomacy triumphed over German diplomacy and sealed the union by British determination to destroy the naval and commercial power of Germany”?

Among the men who had been appointed to lectureships in her universities Germany found her most effective apologists. Their testimony was given again and again through the subsidised pages of the *Fatherland*, on the lecture platform, and through the publications of the “German University League.” Their names were used repeatedly in the movements engineered by German agents for Germany’s advantage. They appeared on the roster of such camouflaged organisations as the “Friends of Peace,” the “American Independence Union,” the “American Embargo Conference” and the “Printers and Publishers Association.”

Members of the German departments in our universities, as time went by, confined themselves less and less to the teaching of German language and of German literature. As Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann expressed it, “They conceived their true function to be not merely to teach the German language, or even German literature, however important these

might be, but to give their students a true conception of what Germany stands for in modern civilisation, what her ideals have been and what she has contributed to the world's best intellectual possessions."

Carrying out this conception, learned societies were founded, such as the "Germanistic Society of America," with headquarters in New York, and the "Germanistic Society of Chicago," both having for their expressed objects the "promotion of the knowledge of German civilisation in America and of American civilisation in Germany"—and both ignoring the latter object and devoting all their efforts to spreading German ideas. So marked did this tendency become that Professor John F. Coar refused election to the board of directors of the New York Society unless some attention was given to familiarising men in Germany with things American.

To more adequately foster the German spirit, "German houses" were established at Wisconsin, Columbia, and other institutions; German clubs were founded, like that at Cornell, expressive of "the newly awakened national consciousness of the Germans in the

United States." At Cornell, the club distributed war literature, conducted discussions of war topics, and corrected misapprehensions as to "the righteous German cause." All these societies were finally amalgamated into the "Intercollegiate League of German Clubs." The league came completely under German influence when, at its 1915 convention, it reduced its advisory board from twelve to three members and appointed as these three an exchange professor of violent pro-German tendencies, now under indictment for treason, another professor from New York University, also violently pro-German, and a member of Germany's subsidised and official propaganda board.

It was an easy step from the attitude expressed by Professor von Jagemann to active propaganda for German policies which came to characterise the class rooms of many German departments. From this many instructors proceeded to active participation in what became known as the "German movement in America."

American universities offered little to counteract this growing obsession of Germanism.

For years the elective plan—a plan which permitted a student to choose his college course pretty much according to his inclinations and his private advantage—had been running riot. The State was thus neglecting a most potent resource of its own life. To secure the continuity of that life, to protect it against hostile machinations, and to insure its development by evolution rather than by revolution, the State should, in justice to itself, demand that every one who profits by the education which it affords study the history and nature of its own being. It has been well said that “the roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present came to be what it is.” A student who has made this study appreciates the painful processes by which humanity has advanced; he realises how history records no short cuts and no magic formulæ for improving the condition of men; he understands how, in our institutions to-day, imperfect though they may be, there are nevertheless embodied the fervent hopes, the sacrifices, and the lives of thousands in the past. With such a historical background he is less inclined to barter

his birthright for any chance mess of pottage brewed by a political or an economic quack, or by a foreign propagandist, however savoury it may be. Without such a retrospect our young men fall easy victims to any plausible vagary that ignores history and whose only postulate is a pious wish.

To a business man who has been permitted to view our universities from the outside, it would seem that the inherent weakness of the elective system has been largely responsible for the marked obsession for all things German which has characterised our universities in the past. It was responsible also for another tendency, a tendency towards a shallow, supercilious cosmopolitanism. The man who knows least about his own country, and who, for that very reason, knows nothing about any other, is always prone to advertise his utter uselessness as a citizen in any community by loudly proclaiming himself a citizen of all. So we had the cosmopolitan movement in our universities beginning with the founding of a cosmopolitan club at the university of Wisconsin in 1902. A year later a similar club was established at Cornell. The idea spread to other

universities and in 1907 an association of cosmopolitan clubs was formed at Madison. In 1913 an international congress was called at Ithaca, New York, for the purpose of "bringing together the representatives from all the students of the world in order that the spirit of international brotherhood and humanity may be fostered among them and in order that the students of the world might be united into an all-embracing world organisation"—thus Louis P. Lochner.

In this environment of unhistorical thinking and shallow cosmopolitanism, pacifism readily took root. Pacifist societies, such as the "Collegiate anti-Militarism League," flourished. Such men as President David Starr Jordan, Professor H. W. L. Dana, Dr. John H. Holmes, and Scott Nearing posed as the leaders. They drew unto them an assortment of callow youth intent on advertising their mental aberrations on the soap box, on the platform and in the prisoner's dock, just as certain fakirs in the Orient take an unctuous delight in displaying their deformities to an adoring entourage. It was entirely within the logic of events that Henry Ford, the multi-millionaire manufac-

turer, who, as he said, "never read history, and had no time or interest for anything in the past," and Louis P. Lochner, the secretary of the "Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs," should join forces, the one in financing, and the other in piloting the "peace ship." Together they assembled the picturesque cargo of long-haired men, short-haired women and shallow sentimentalists, and exhibited them to the countries then at death grips for the preservation of their historical heritage,—a piece of comedy equalled only by the tragedy implied in its utter lack of sympathy and understanding.

The entire peace movement in America, no less than its aberration of pacifism, was viewed with feelings of contempt in Germany. Eduard Meyer, professor of ancient history in the University of Berlin, who visited Harvard as exchange professor in 1909, and who on other visits had become widely acquainted in the college faculties of the country, sneered at us for "cherishing the delusion that Hague conferences and similar mummeries, the hallucination of world brotherhood, could furnish the panacea destined to bring about the millen-

nium of universal peace." He attributed the peace movement in America principally to avarice and self-interest, the anxiety of Americans to escape the burdens of taxation and personal service involved in preparedness for war, and also to a "certain effeminate sentimentalism which prevails among the educated classes—a feeling which is aided by the circumstance that the education of the youth in the primary and secondary schools is almost entirely in the hands of women."

At the same time the peace sentiment, together with its morbid manifestations, were exploited to the utmost for Germany's advantage. To render ineffective the strong pro-ally sentiment which developed upon the spoliation of Belgium, it was necessary to render America innocuous. Under cover of pacifist sympathies, pamphleteers in the pay of the German embassy assailed the National Security League and the Navy League. That German troops might slaughter Belgians and Frenchmen and Britishers in safety and without fear of retribution, German agents declaimed against the inhumanity of the munition traffic. Their dupes and pacifist allies in the

pulpit and on the platform, piously admonished "thou shalt not kill" and spread Germany's propaganda for an embargo. The convention of the Friends of Peace in Chicago in 1915, which attracted educators and clergymen from all parts of the United States, was engineered by a self-confessed spy, now interned; a similar convention in San Francisco was directed by a hireling of the German consulate.

III

THE UNDERMINING OF AMERICAN
EDUCATION

IN spite of the favourable conditions in America, the German conspiracy would not have succeeded except for the efforts of the exceedingly able men who, in ever increasing numbers, came from Germany to occupy chairs in our universities, important positions in industry, banking, and in the editorial offices of German language newspapers, and to fill the pulpits of German churches. These men had drunk deep of modern German philosophy and were completely obsessed by Pan-German ambitions and by Germany's manifest destiny of world power. The great mass of the population of German descent had little in common with them and little interest in their schemes—they were satisfied with America and with its opportunities and were willing to forget the old country. Left to themselves they would in a

few years have become assimilated in our population. The second generation invariably became most eager and whole-hearted in their Americanism. Even the opposition to the Bennett Law, in Wisconsin, had little immediate political significance. It was rather expressive of the attachment of a population, largely of German birth, for the language of their fatherland. The German names which have appeared in every casualty list of our armies are convincing testimonials of the genuine patriotism of the great majority of our citizens of German descent.

What came to be known as the "German movement in America"—a movement which aimed at the consolidation in one compact bloc, racially, economically, and politically of the entire German element in the United States, and the definite relation of that bloc to the German advance to world power—did not have its origin among the laymen. An attempt had been made as far back as 1885 to strengthen and perpetuate German schools through an organisation known as the "National German-American School Alliance." This, however, encountered opposition from the beginning. Most

German-Americans, while they favoured the propaganda for the German language in parts of Austria and Hungary, could see no reason for such a movement in the United States, and the school alliance disintegrated.

Those responsible for the German movement were not the laymen, but the intellectuals, primarily the scholars occupying positions in American universities. As far back as 1886 an instructor in Johns Hopkins University had urged a union of all Germans in the United States for the maintenance of Germanism and the preservation of the German language. The idea was discussed and kept alive in academic circles, but it was not until some time after the Spanish-American War that the occasion seemed opportune for its realisation.

The action of the German Admiral Diederichs in dogging Admiral Dewey's movements in Manila Bay naturally aroused intense resentment in the United States. This was intensified when it became known that early in 1898, when war with Spain seemed inevitable, the German ambassador in Washington had attempted to form a coalition of European governments for the purpose of extorting a prom-

ise from the United States not to violate the integrity of the Spanish colonial empire.

In contrast with the popular resentment towards Germany was the rapidly developing entente with Great Britain. The administration of distant colonial possessions, inhabited by foreign races, placed the United States in a situation analogous to that occupied by Great Britain, and an increasing sympathy between the English speaking nations became manifest. We, too, were taking up the white man's burden. Anglo-Saxon brotherhood was celebrated in prose and verse; Anglo-Saxon leadership and prestige were acclaimed. Cecil Rhodes realised the spirit of the times in providing Oxford scholarships for the best, all-round products of American universities; thus the bonds between the two great nations would be drawn closer year by year.

A most serious threat was presented to Germany's plans. With an Anglo-Saxon entente making its power and influence felt in every part of the globe, the opportunity for world power would be forever lost,—the only alternative was downfall.

The intellectuals among the German element

in the United States affected to see in the Anglo-Saxon entente a reflection upon their Teutonic character ; in this light they presented it to their countrymen through the press and from the platform. It was the policy of "imperialism" that had brought the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race together, and against "imperialism," not as a policy, but in its racial aspect, they directed their attack. They joined forces, but from different motives, with those who opposed imperialism on constitutional and humanitarian grounds.

This was the beginning of the German movement in America. "In this manner," says Professor Julius Goebel, "the feeling of unity among German-Americans was made to blaze out brilliantly, and the way was prepared for the organisation of the 'National German-American Alliance.' "

Organisations of every kind have always been a feature of German life in America. The National Sängerbund, the National Turner Alliance, the German-American Teachers' Alliance, organized in 1870, have already been mentioned. In addition there have been associations of German veterans and reservists,

many mutual aid and benefit societies, societies of Swabians, Bavarians, and those coming from other states, and innumerable other organisations.

In 1899, most of the Pennsylvania organisations became federated in an alliance. This suggested a national organisation and, in 1900, delegates from German societies in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Minnesota assembled in Philadelphia and formed a temporary association. On October 6, 1901, a permanent organisation was perfected, known as the "National German-American Alliance," and this achievement prominent Germans, both in the United States and in the Fatherland, have proclaimed as of the utmost consequence for the future of Germanism in America.

The organisation immediately entered into friendly relations with the Pan-German League (*Alldeutscher Verband*) and with the General School Alliance (*Allgemeiner deutscher Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschthums im Auslande*). It became the mouthpiece of Pan-German ideas in America. The Propagandists of world dominion in Germany boasted of the superiority of their *Kultur*, de-

nounced the Latin races as suffering in the last stages of decadence, described the British as hopelessly addicted to sport and besotted through wealth and luxury; the Germans were the one race singled out by Providence to rescue civilisation. In the same way the leaders of the National German-American Alliance extolled the superiority of the German element, painted in lurid colours the lust for money, the hypocrisy, the contempt for law and constituted authority, the cowardly submission to public opinion, and the superficiality of American life; it was their patriotic mission to impress their characteristics upon the decadent American, or Anglo-American, section of the population and save the country. In Germany they preached that decadent civilisations, in the divine order of things, must give way to *Kultur*; in America, that moribund Anglo-Saxonism must be replaced by the German spirit. As Professor Voss of the University of Wisconsin expressed it, "It is the beautiful and profitable task of German-Americans to prepare the way in this country for the German spirit and the German conception of life." In Germany they taught their people that they

were surrounded by enemies: Great Britain was stimulated by commercial jealousy and France by the *revanche*; in America, that the Anglo-American section of the population was envious of their success and of their sterling qualities and that they must band together in order to resist the encroachments and the enmity of the so-called "nativists." Germany attempted to bring about an entente with Ireland; she sent her agents to the Emerald Isle, and Irish school children were taught to declaim against the tyrant of the seas and to acclaim the day when that tyranny would be broken by a rising naval power, and Ireland would be given her freedom; in America the leaders industriously cultivated the Irish element and flattered their anti-English prejudices. In 1907, the National German-American Alliance formed a working agreement for common action with the Ancient Order of Hibernians and, in conjunction with this organisation, opposed and defeated the arbitration treaties with Great Britain negotiated under the direction of President Taft. Every effort of Germany to bring about closer co-operation with Ireland has reacted in renewed efforts for closer co-operation

on the part of leaders of the German movement in America with those of Irish descent. In Germany, England was proclaimed as a common enemy; in America, the Anglo-Saxons.

The organisers of the alliance went into every state and community of the land. They went to all the singing societies, gymnastic organisations, social clubs and church brotherhoods of every denomination. Distinctions of religion were of no moment—the supreme unity was their common Germanism. Local organisations they banded together into city alliances, the various city alliances they federated into state alliances, and the state alliances they bound together as constituent members of the National German-American Alliance. The work received a tremendous impetus from the visit of Prince Henry and from the numerous banquets, celebrations and speeches of which it was the occasion. The Germanic Museum at Harvard added its impetus. Was not this collection of casts and sculptures representative of the glories and achievements of their race, and did it not call upon every man of German blood to claim his part in his racial

heritage and to preserve to the utmost his racial individuality?

The work was pushed until a state organisation had been completed for every state and also for the territory of Hawaii. In 1916, the alliance claimed a membership of two and a half million and the control of over two and a half million votes. In 1907, posing as an "educational and patriotic organisation," it hoodwinked Congress into giving it a special charter of incorporation. From that time on the legend "Incorporated by Act of Congress" appeared on all the literature of the organisation. In this way the government of the United States was to become a party to its own undoing.

With this organisation, and assisted by ample funds provided by the brewers and liquor dealers of the United States, the leaders aimed to consolidate all those of German descent into one racial, political, and economic bloc. "The National German-American Alliance aims to bring about this unity of feeling in the population of German origin in America, and if it only approximates its aim, namely the cen-

tralisation of the German-American element, it will nevertheless have accomplished as great a work as was performed in 1871 by the Iron Chancellor." They aimed to perfect, as they said, in their new home a secure support for German *Kultur*, thereby to enhance the glory of their race—"and the sooner the Germans in foreign lands come together for defence and offence, the more easily and the more purely will Germanism be preserved." They urged the German immigrant to become naturalised and to acquire the right to vote at the earliest opportunity, but at the same time, they impressed him with the thought that he should become American only in a political and geographical sense and that in all other things—in feeling, in sentiment, and in language—he should remain German. The idea is well expressed in a speech delivered by Professor Goebel of the University of Illinois, to the "United German Societies of New York," on May 27th, 1912. This speech later appeared in a volume of Professor Goebel's speeches and essays, published in Germany in 1914. He says:

A few years ago there appeared, under the title "The Melting Pot," a drama in which the author, a well-known Zionist, Israel Zangwill, announced as the final conclusion of all wisdom, that America was the great Melting Pot in which the different races and Nationalities, with everything that distinguished them—their languages, their inheritances, their views, and their customs—would be thrown in order that in that Melting Pot they should be transformed into "Americans." For us German-Americans this preachment of this play denotes a mixture of empty phrase and unhistorical thinking. It represents the very opposite of what we are striving for, and this ideal of the Melting Pot must be opposed and defeated by us the more decisively the more enthusiastically it is taken up by the thoughtless rabble. . . . We do not need to permit ourselves to be remoulded and transformed into "Americans," but we are Americans in a political sense, and in that sense alone, when we take our oath of allegiance and unite ourselves to the great body of our German-American racial kin. . . .

Thanks to German resistance, the Roman Empire perished under the hallucination that it could suppress or even annihilate the individuality and the peculiar life of differ-

ent races in order to subject them to the yoke of a common language as of a common state and political organisation. The open or concealed attempt to submerge our German racial individuality—that is, our speech, our customs, and conceptions—in the slop kitchen of a national Melting Pot has its origin in the same hallucination and will also, though it may be in a different manner, be bitterly avenged.

In this way was the spirit of the Delbrück Law implanted in America by a man holding a chair in an American university and supported by American taxpayers!

How was this solidarity of the German element to be achieved? Primarily by conserving the German language, for, as Fichte said, "What the root is to the tree, that the German language is to Germans." "Racial individuality and speech are inseparately related," declared the Alliance. "If we wish to preserve the former for ourselves and our descendants, then we must cultivate and guard the latter as a priceless possession."

For the older people, those born in Germany, this could be effected by fostering the German

language press, German churches, and the German stage. But in view of the fact that German immigration practically ceased in the year 1900, it became necessary to do something more in order to preserve the Germanism of America from extinction. With the cessation of the stream of immigration, it became necessary to make sure of the second generation, and also to win adherents among the other elements of the population. "We must assure ourselves of the youth of the land," declared the president of the National Alliance to a convention of the Pennsylvania branch—"not only the German Americans, but the entire youth."

The rising generation was thus marked for German propaganda and the means of reaching the youth was obviously through the schools, both private and denominational, and the public schools of the land. "For the preservation of Germanism in the United States nothing is more necessary than the preservation and creation of German schools," declared the Alliance at its convention in 1903. "The mission of the German schoolmaster in America is not fulfilled by far, it is only be-

gun." What was ultimately hoped for these schools was expressed in an article in the official organ of the Alliance, the "German-American Annals," edited by professors of the leading universities of the country:

Only through the preservation of the German language can our race in this land be preserved from entire disappearance. The principal aim should be the founding of independent parochial schools in which the language of instruction would be German, with English as the foreign language . . . and when these schools have once shown that they can offer as much as the public schools and that they are under the direction of trained, thorough teachers, then activity could be taken in the direction of securing for them financial support from the state, as in the case of public schools.

But the leaders of the German movement did not await the slow process of establishing the prestige of German schools and securing for them state aid. They undertook to operate directly upon the public school system. "Strict control of the public schools is necessary," they declared, and early in the career of the Alli-

ance, the following programme was laid down:

1. The teaching of the German language in all elementary schools, beginning, preferably, with the first grade; such teaching, moreover, to be given in such a manner "as to produce familiarity with Germany and with the German race in America";

2. "A dignified place in the curriculum for German history";

3. "The rewriting of American history so that not only descendants of the Anglo-Saxon race, but those also of the German and of other races who have contributed to the civilisation of the United States may come into their rights, and so that contemptuous expressions, such for instance as those applied to the Hessian mercenaries, may be eliminated from school text books";

4. Instruction in the geography of Germany.

To carry out this programme the National German American Alliance always maintained standing committees on German language and schools and on historical investigation. These committees of the national organisation included in their membership professors from the leading universities of the country. The

state alliances and the city branches organised in a similar manner, usually with an educator from the state university or from some local school in charge.

In addition to this, every city alliance was ordered to get into touch and to co-operate with the German-American Teachers' Alliance (*deutsch-amerikanischer Lehrerbund*). This organisation was national in its scope, had branches in all the larger cities, and included most of the teachers of the German language. Every year it held a convention, widely known, both here and in Germany, as the "German-American Teachers' Day" (*deutsch-amerikanischer Lehrertag*), attended by instructors from all parts of the country. The 1912 convention was held in the city of Berlin. Special arrangements and inducements were offered by the Hamburg-Amerika and Norddeutscher Lloyd steamship companies; the delegates were given every attention, and sent home feeling that they were part of the Greater Germany which would some day dominate the world, not only in thought and speech, but in politics. They had become valuable agents in the dissemination of Germanism. The Pan-

German League regarded them as part of its world embracing plan.

Local branches of the National German-American Alliance were now ordered to support the Teachers' Alliance in every way—to aid them in organising new branches, in securing better teaching conditions, in boosting the attendance in German classes, in introducing instruction in the German language and in widening its scope wherever possible. In this respect the two organisations worked conveniently hand in hand.

In those communities where the introduction of German was left to the local school board, the procedure was to send questionnaires to candidates for the board, ascertain their attitudes, and then to actively campaign for those who gave satisfactory answers. This was done in Chicago in 1916; the result was a board almost unanimously in favour of the German language, and a special supervisor of German instruction was engaged. In Detroit, even after the break in diplomatic relations, the city alliance interrogated candidates and prepared to enter the local campaign. In Indianapolis they succeeded in electing one of their own offi-

cers, the first vice-president of the national organisation, to the school board, and he later became its president. This worthy was at the same time the paid propagandist and organiser of the brewers and liquor dealers of America. His activities in promoting *Kultur*, in furthering the free and unrestricted consumption of beer and whiskey and in advancing the education of the youth of Indianapolis seemed to dovetail together very conveniently. In Milwaukee, another vice-president of the national alliance was made assistant superintendent of schools. His attitude was expressed in his report to the Wisconsin Alliance:—

The Alliance should exert its utmost influence in regard to educational matters; it is the duty of every branch to work for the introduction of German study in our public schools.

In fact, in Milwaukee, Germanism had pretty much its own way about everything—the teaching of German was a regular part of all school work beginning with the first grade; no child was excused except on special request from his parents. In Cincinnati, according to

its records, the local alliance had the situation well in hand:

In the session of the German-American City Alliance of Cincinnati the matter of German instruction came up for thorough discussion. It was asserted that in many schools only one hour of German instruction is given a day, whereas formerly there was a full half-day of instruction in German. This condition could be used by those who are not in favour of German teaching as an argument for abolishing it altogether, on the ground that it is too expensive to keep special instructors just for one hour of instruction a day.

It was asserted in this connection that after the war there would undoubtedly come a strong movement for the abolition of German instruction throughout the land, since the Anglo-American population has learned from the things that have taken place in this country with reference to the European war, that the preservation of the mother tongue on the part of the immigrant is precisely the thing which is the strongest factor in preserving old country individuality and opinions.

It was said that for that very reason even now we should be devising means for meet-

ing this movement against German instruction when the time comes. More especially should every German see to it that in his family German is spoken and German books and newspapers are read.

A warning was given against making any concession whatever to the enemies of German teaching, since in that event it would slowly, though certainly, perish; nor could the prohibition movement have made the progress that it has, had not the liberal element continually made concessions to it.

The Superintendent of Schools was highly praised in the discussion of the subject. It was said that he was a thorough-going friend of German teaching and that he favoured it at every opportunity, so that in Cincinnati at least there seemed to be as yet no danger to it.

This probably accounts for the fact that a full year after the United States had entered the war this same superintendent, at a meeting of the Americanisation committee appointed by the governor of the state, found himself unprepared to vote either in the affirmative or in the negative, on the question of the elimination of German instruction from the public schools.

Even greater vigilance was exercised in

other localities where officials of the alliance regularly inspected the German classes. One of these men, shortly before the United States entered the war, visited the schools of Omaha and reported that he was more than pleased with what he found—the children were acquiring a typical Berlin accent, sang a number of songs to his entire approval and finally ended in rendering “Die Wacht am Rhein” with an enthusiasm and vigour which would have done credit to the children of the Fatherland, even a number of negro boys joining in the song with all their might and main! To encourage pupils, medals were provided and in cities having German theatres local organisations were called upon to furnish free seats for students of German.

Where state legislation was necessary to facilitate the introduction of German, the alliance was equally active. Questionnaires on the proposed measures were sent to all candidates. This was done in Ohio in the election of 1912. In this manner the state alliance of Nebraska secured the passage of the Mockett Law, requiring the teaching of a foreign language, beginning with the fourth grade—the foreign

language intended being, of course, German—whenever the parents of fifty children in attendance upon the school requested it. Immediately after the passage of the law, members of the alliance in Nebraska City circulated petitions requesting German instruction. The petitions were presented to the school authorities, but they hesitated to comply for the reason that it was found that less than one-third of the signers of the petitions intended to have their children take advantage of the instruction, and that, as a consequence, the expense entailed would be out of proportion to the number receiving the benefit. The members thereupon obtained a writ of mandamus compelling the school board to introduce the subject, the case was carried to the Supreme Court, and the constitutionality of the law and the issuance of the writ were upheld.

In fact, nowhere did the educational programme of the National Alliance make such progress as in Nebraska. In 1910, an effort had been made to have the legislature enact a law requiring every child to attend the public schools at least three months in the year, and placing the parochial schools to some extent

under the supervision of county school superintendents. Lutheran and German Catholic clergymen joined with the state alliance in opposing what was regarded as an attack upon Germanism, and the bill was killed in committee, only one legislator out of nine having the courage to stand for Americanism! Parochial schools continued to grow until recently it was found that in nineteen school districts they had crowded out the public schools entirely.

The German language newspapers, some six hundred in number, gave the propaganda undivided support. Ever since the early 90's their steadily dwindling circle of German readers warned them that their circulation must be replenished from the rising generation—and Herman Ridder was frank enough to confess that his interest in German language instruction arose out of his interest in the circulation of the *Staats-Zeitung*.

Of course the propaganda never revealed its real purpose when presented to state legislators or to school boards. It always came before them in plausible pedagogical disguises. It was said that the study of German improved

the student's mastery of English. As an English essay published by the National Alliance declared, it was

a most valuable aid to the acquirement of perfect English. . . . This every educator, who deserves the name of such, will acknowledge as a correct statement of the principles of teaching and the experience of our Cincinnati schools has justified these views. . . . This has been appreciated by parents who are not of foreign descent by sending their children to the German classes. . . . Our German citizens, and particularly of the intellectual classes, will not send their children to schools from which a study is eliminated that promotes the knowledge of English, because good and pure English is almost an obsession with them.

And circulars expounding this educational theory were circulated by the thousand. One of these curious documents appeared over the name of a well-known educator of American birth, a professor in the University of Pennsylvania. The author introduces his subject by observing:

In the recent reports of the Bureau of Education in Washington, treating the sub-

ject of the teaching of modern languages in American schools, colleges and universities, there is ample evidence of the necessity of directing the attention of our school boards and college administrations *to the perilous conditions of the educational method, now running riot in American education.*¹

He postulates that "the first and fundamental discipline of all education is the mastery of that language which is the means of daily intercourse," but deplors that

while the necessity of the study of English is theoretically recognised, English is one of the most poorly taught subjects in our American schools from the kindergarten to the university. The cause of this is that in spite of our educational progress, *we are still under the ban of the tradition of incompetent teaching and confused notions of the real purpose of public education.* Any trained scholar must blush when he goes into the elementary schools and observes the lack of knowledge and method displayed in the teaching of English. The writer can re-

¹ The author is responsible for the italics in this and in the following excerpts.

member the time when the great aim in the study of English was to commit to memory the thirty-two rules of Smith's English Grammar, while it seemed not to occur even to the teacher that these rules were intended to be put into practice in speaking and writing the language. The result was that the pupils left the English class with the same slipshod habit of incorrect speaking with which they entered,

and his conclusion is that the remedy is the study of German—a remedy which one might be inclined to commend to the author himself in view of his samples of mixed metaphor and confused syntax. Another pamphlet, published in English under the name of the supervisor of German in the public schools of Cincinnati, contains the following:

So, then, numerous authorities—many of them Americans—testify that the instruction in German is not only in nowise a hindrance to the progress of the scholars, but in striking wise a furtherance.

And after speaking of the success attending instruction in German in Cincinnati, the author says:

Such successes can be achieved, of course, only on condition that the instruction be adequate; that is to say, that the instructors be equal to their task, and that there be such a thing as aimful supervision. And even this kind of instruction is, alas, gauged only too often by ignorance and prejudice, if not the sheer lust of cavilling and undermining.

Another educator from the Central High School, Philadelphia, exclaims:

I, for my part, acknowledge that I should not exactly relish being charged with the task of manning or womaning (*venia sit verbo*) all our many public schools with thoroughly competent language-teachers. I fear I could not do it even with the help of Diogenic lanterns. Am I wrong, or are we placed between the Scylla of maintaining an undesirable status quo and the Charybdis of a possibly forthcoming halfness?

Happily, America is about through with the "forthcoming halfness" produced in elementary schools by the forcible introduction of the German language. These examples should serve as warnings of the huddled deformities of style which the continued study of German

would have eventually introduced into the language of the country.

The leaders of the German movement in America have always contended that history text-books used in the public schools were replete with falsifications; that they showed most astounding omissions; that they purposely slighted heroes of German descent and overlooked the part the German element had played in the development of the country. They criticised, too, the omission of German history from the school curriculum. "Only with a background of German political history, and above all of the history of German *Kultur*, can a proper understanding of American history be attained; only through the knowledge of the history of Germany can there be awakened in the German-American youth the well justified pride in their descent," so the Alliance declared at one of its conventions. Year by year, as racial consciousness was intensified, they took deeper umbrage at these supposed affronts to their worth and insisted that the entire instruction in history called loudly for thoroughgoing reform.

This feeling gave rise to the formation

throughout the country of German historical societies—a definitely related phase of the German movement. The “German-American Historical Society,” a national organisation, was incorporated in 1901, and began to affiliate with itself existing societies. Its purpose was the investigation, collection, and publication of material relating to the history and culture of Germans in America, and to provide that due recognition be given to their efforts and achievements. The National Alliance encouraged the work, and urged its members to form affiliated historical societies in every county and city. “It is absolutely necessary,” it decided, “to have a history of the United States written which will convincingly show the part Germans have had in the development of the country as compared with the other elements of the population in order to give the American people a proper conception of the subject. The Alliance should undertake to have such a work published, and should see to it that it is used as a basis for the teaching of American history in our public schools.” Professor Goebel, in his book, “Germanism in North America,” published by the Pan-German

League, urged that an outline treatise of German-American history be prepared, and its introduction in the public schools undertaken.

To effect the desired reforms a delegation from the Alliance appeared before a committee of the American Historical Association in 1909—it was felt that this committee had an important influence on the text-books used and the courses of instruction. But the representations of the Alliance were unavailing.

Other plans for meeting the situation had therefore to be devised. In those districts where Germans were in the majority, the text-books could be controlled through the election of the members of the school board. But this would not accomplish the result principally desired—the enlightenment of Americans in those districts where the Americans were numerically stronger.

The school committee therefore hit upon an original plan. "To reach an American one must get at his pocket book," the chairman reported. The Alliance could best accomplish its purposes by allying itself with some energetic publishing house that had put out a book most nearly approaching the German point of

view. The alliance could endorse such a book, and through its numerous branches advertise it, bring it to the attention of school boards, and secure its adoption. Requests for the insertion of other desirable matter could then be made of the publishers from time to time. Such a course was actually pursued in the case of Bourne and Benton's "School History of the United States," induced, no doubt, by these gratifying paragraphs:—

They (the Germans) came in such numbers that they almost succeeded in making Wisconsin a German state. Some parts of the West became a New Germany, just as Pennsylvania had been in the eighteenth century. To-day a large majority of the people of Wisconsin are German immigrants or their descendants.

Some Special Debts to the Germans.—The Germans were better taught than most of the native Americans, because a new system of schools had been established in Germany. The skilled workingmen and the farmers were well trained. As citizens they helped to make better schools in the United States. Furthermore, American students began to go to Germany for higher education. In still other ways they deeply influ-

enced American life. They had a taste and love for music and painting and sculpture that few Americans had at that time. Wherever they went they became the teachers of these arts. In a multitude of ways—by singing societies, gymnastic organisations, open-air celebrations, fairs and frolics and festivals—they added to the wholesome pleasures of life.

The book was endorsed by a number of state alliances and an active propaganda was undertaken in its behalf.

At the same time a covert threat was exercised upon all publishers of text books through the request that they submit copies of their publications. They were made to appreciate the financial loss they would incur if they ignored Germanism in their presentation of history. Professor Samuel B. Harding, of the University of Indiana, relates an interesting incident in this connection. Early in 1915, he prepared a chapter on the present war for use in a text book. He read it before the historical society of the University. Within two weeks there were forwarded to him by his publishers letters which they had received demand-

ing that the chapter be omitted from the book, and practically threatening a boycott, not only of that particular book, but also of the firm as well. A letter from the educational committee of one of the state alliances threatened to bring the matter before the annual convention of the National German-American Alliance at its session in August, 1915.

The most insidious of all forms of German propaganda was that conducted through textbooks used in the public schools and the fact that much of this propaganda was produced unconsciously and innocently by American-born scholars is convincing evidence of our shortcomings in not insisting upon education in political and institutional history. A native American teacher in a Chicago high school produced a reading book for beginners in German. In it he contrasts the spirit of modern Germany with that of America in this wise:

In our country where every youth in his first year in school learns that he may be president some day—where parents permit their children to look down upon their modest callings, where the higher professions are overcrowded, manual labour despised, the

farms deserted, we often find in the serving class a weak, discontented lot of people. In sharp contrast to them were the people who served us in Germany. They knew what they had to do and did it without feeling that it injured their dignity.

The author then goes on to tell of the punctilious attention given by the hotel porter, the chambermaid and baggage-hustler at the station—and all for a few pfennigs! The service of the chambermaid especially appealed to him. One could throw one's soiled linen on the bed or on the floor, ring the bell, and she would attend to it all. In twenty-four hours it would be back, and no distinction would be made between Sundays and week days! How the author longed to kidnap one of these neat German girls and take her to America! At night one would find the bed curtains drawn, the covers laid down and the nightgown ready. But as conditions in his own country flash upon his mind, the author's conscience smites him:

In my heart I thought how foolish she would be if she came to America. How much she would lose! And what would be

the gain? More money—and of what use would that be to her?

“This system suits me,” exclaims the writer finally in ecstasy, after recounting the comforts of life in Germany. “And the prices! Compare them with what would be demanded in New York. A bum wanted a dollar for carrying three small handbags three blocks for us to the station!”

And he recounts how they refused his proffer, and when a little nearer to the station another individual offered to perform the service for fifty cents. This also was refused, and then, when within a block and a half of their destination, another man offered to carry the baggage for twenty-five cents. He carried it a short distance and then turned it over to a boy to whom he gave a nickel for completing the task, keeping twenty cents for himself. And this incident the author gives as typical of America—a country where those who perform the actual labour are not the ones to receive the compensation.

The glorification of the Kaiser is the purpose of another reader entitled “Wilhelm der

Siegreiche," or "William the Victorious." Note this specimen of adulation:

Such was his first thought when the trumpet blast of victory first fell upon his ears. Many rulers have shown themselves to be great in misfortune, but only a few of them, like Emperor Wilhelm, great while lucky. True to his convictions, he could pray to the Highest War Lord, who leads the army of stars, because He had manifested Himself to him through many expressions and tokens. And as a Christian and a hero paying heed to these tokens, the Emperor had acquired a keen ear for God's words, a keen ear for hints which always made him follow the right path.

"Im Vaterland"—a book which the author, a publisher of text-books, confesses was "made in Germany"—provides for American school-children a song, to be sung to the tune of America, which runs in translation as follows:

Hail to thee in victory,
Leader of the fatherland,
Hail, Kaiser, to thee!
Feel in your brilliant throne,
The highest and greatest joy,
Darling of the people,
Hail, Kaiser, to thee!

Not horse and trooper,
Make secure the exalted height,
Where our prince stands!
The love of the fatherland;
The love of the freemen,
Support the ruler's throne,
As a rock in the sea.

Glow, holy flame,
Glow, and never die,
For fatherland!
We all stand ready now,
Courageous for one man,
Gladly we'll fight and bleed,
For throne and empire!

Be, Kaiser, long here with your people.
Pride of humanity!
Feel on your throne
The greatest and highest joy!
Darling of thy people,
Hail, Kaiser, to thee!

"Writing and Speaking German"—a textbook prepared by a Cornell professor, and ostensibly merely a collection of exercises for translation—devotes an entirely disproportionate amount of space to the Kaiser. His childhood, his student days in the gymnasium of Cassel, and then at the University of Bonn, all

are idealised. This selection, which the student is expected to translate into German, concludes:

Although the German Emperor is a soldier through and through, it would be a mistake to consider him a monarch anxious for war. On the contrary, he seeks with all his might to preserve the German people from the horror of war. The best proof of his peaceful disposition is the fact that Germany has had no war for forty years.

The universities are treated in the following manner:

The development of the German universities during the nineteenth century since the founding of the University of Berlin in October, 1810, just a hundred years ago, presents a splendid picture. The universities have had an inestimable influence on the German civilisation and even upon the political history and the economic progress of the country. Their representation is international and they occupy the first place among the scientific institutions of the world. Students and professors from all countries go to Germany to attend the universities and bring the methods and ideals of the German

university back with them to their own lands. The instruction at the American universities is based largely on German investigation and a large part of the professors at many of our colleges have spent at least one semester at a German university.

Another exercise is an apology for German militarism :

On three sides Germany has open boundaries over which strong armies could easily march, if it were not ready for war at any time. No other great power of Europe is in such a dangerous position. A strong army is a necessity and now a powerful fleet seems to be just as necessary if Germany is to maintain its place among the great powers. Germany, however, desires quiet and peace and would not begin a war without reason. Indeed, the world has to thank Germany that peace has reigned so long in Europe. . . .

As we have seen, Germany is forced by its position in the middle of the powerful European states to have a great army. . . .

In order to maintain its position, Germany dare not give up this army, and it stands now at the beginning of the twentieth century as the first military power of Europe, and as we have already seen, the third sea power.

At the beginning of the twentieth cen-

ture, Germany still maintains its leading place in the field of art and science. Its laboratories and hospitals serve the other nations as models, its universities and conservatories are world-famed and are attended by students from all parts of the world. But now we may no longer think of Germany as a land merely of thinkers and dreamers, a land of poets, composers and scholars. Germany is no longer one-sided. It has now become an industrial and political power and we may confidently expect in the future progress in all fields of human activity.

The German arguments for colonial expansion are put forth as follows:—

The great problem of Germany in the twentieth century is the founding of new colonies and the development of its trade with its new colonies and with foreign lands. The German territory has now become too small for the German people. The sixty-eight million Germans need more land than they now possess in Europe. Therefore the present colonial policy of Germany is not merely a game; it is a necessity.

And finally the author throws a sop to American sensibilities by proclaiming that “the

German Constitution is in many respects similar to the Constitution of the United States."

Why, we may ask, the lugging of all this foreign matter into a text-book on German composition? It has no appropriate place in such a work. Can it be said that in view of the attitude taken by the National German-American Alliance on school text-books, and in deference to their plans for endorsing and securing the adoption of such books as met with their approval, it behooved a writer to insert such material, and a publisher to give it prominence? Of one thing, however, we may be certain—after a student has laboured over these exercises, translated them into German and discussed them in class, his mind is so thoroughly saturated with ideas favourable to Germany that it is ready to react to the crudest form of propaganda.

The propaganda found its way even into an English speller. It is seldom, indeed, that space is found in such a work for pieces of composition. Nevertheless the books used in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades of the Chicago public schools gave space to two prose selections: one of a dozen lines de-

scribing the aptness of the natives of Central Australia in identifying the tracks of birds and animals and another which reads as follows:—

THE KAISER IN THE MAKING

In the *gymnasium* at Cassel the German *Kaiser* spent three years of his boyhood, a *diligent* but not a *brilliant* pupil, ranking tenth among *seventeen candidates* for the *university*.

Many tales are told of this *period* of his life, and one of them, at least, is *illuminating*.

A *professor*, it is said, wishing to curry favour with his royal pupil, informed him *overnight* of the chapter in Greek that was to be made the *subject* of the next day's lesson.

The young *prince* did what many boys would not have done. As soon as the classroom was *opened* on the following morning, he entered and wrote *conspicuously* on the blackboard the information that had been given him.

One may say *unhesitatingly* that a boy capable of such an action has the root of a fine character in him, possesses that *chivalrous* sense of fair play which is the nearest thing to *religion* that may be looked for at

that age, hates *meanness* and *favouritism*, and will, *wherever possible*, expose them. There is in him a *fundamental* bent toward what is clean, manly and aboveboard.

One may well imagine the indignation that would have been aroused by any similar reference to King George or to Edward VII! But so completely had we been hypnotised by the prestidigitations of *Kultur* that these intrusions in our school books were not even noticed until after war had aroused us from our trance!

But Germanism did not stop with the grade schools nor with the high schools. It included the institutions of higher learning. Here, too, its objects were two-fold: first, to retain for Germanism the allegiance of those of German descent, and, second, to bring the rest of the population into submission to *Kultur*. A pamphlet published and circulated in 1916 by the German University League of New York—a league including in its membership not only native Germans, but native Americans, holding prominent positions in American universities—deplores the baneful influence of Ameri-

can institutions upon the youth of German descent:

They went to Anglo-American schools and colleges, and they succumbed; not only intellectually, but—much more seriously—racially. It is a very sorry sight to-day to find that many unknown thousands of German descendants, and particularly those that had enjoyed greater privileges, have been estranged from the German cause; yes, there are many Germans that are not only indifferent but opposed to the German spirit of to-day, that do not understand and neither feel any longer the inspiration of the German idea in the world. They have learned to think Anglo-American.

Thereupon the writer exclaims:

There is room for a true German University!

Hundreds of Americans yearly go to German universities, and thousands more would welcome its opportunities; so the sympathy of Americans would be assured for such an undertaking, but, what is most important, with it an organ would be created that would give the German element an even chance to develop, to develop from a second-

class citizenship to a first-class one, perhaps the first-class citizenship of this great country.

But not enough, a university will never accomplish that alone; what is needed as much, if not first, is an educational system from bottom up—German schools, genuine German *gymnasien*—not compromises, but all of them genuinely German, with German as the principal language all the way through. A university cannot be what it ought to be unless it is fed by corresponding preparatory schools; and you cannot turn out German scientists without German *gymnasien* and kindred schools.

Professor Julius Goebel is more modest in his suggestions:

More than ever before our race, which has finally come to a self-conscious life, requires a central point, a common hearth of German *Kultur* from which light and warmth would radiate. For the accomplishment of this high aim, I see in my mind an institute for German *Kultur*, fashioned somewhat after the model of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. This could be the meeting place for prominent German-American and Imperial German scholars, on which

the exchange of the cultural possessions of both peoples could take place in a fructifying manner. Here there should be cultivated in addition to German-American history, the past cultural relations between Germany and America—German language and literature, German history, German ethnology, German history of art and German philosophy. From this place the results of the investigation would be spread by letter and by word of mouth to the most distant circles of the nation. *For, although it would be the principal task of such an academy to bring on behalf of Kultur new life to our German-American race, still it would have to impart no less vigorously German Kultur to the Anglo-American portion of the population. In this manner only could the sound thought at the basis of the exchange professorships be made fruitful and be made to materialise.*

The project for a university modelled along the lines of those in Germany, in which the German language, literature and culture would be given prominence, was brought forward at several conventions of the National German-American Alliance. While favourably discussed, the time did not seem ripe for

the undertaking, and the Alliance therefore devoted itself to influencing existing institutions. The first step, of course, was to secure greater recognition for the German language. As an entrance requirement it should be placed on the same footing as Latin. This reform was actually brought about in 1913 in the University of Nebraska. Latin came to be required only of medical students. "The teaching of German," so the school committee of the National German-American Alliance reported, "is therefore making great headway in the high schools of the state at the expense of Latin."

In 1913, at its St. Louis convention, the National German-American Alliance organised a committee for the "establishment of relations with American universities for the promotion of German *Kultur*," and appointed on the committee members of the faculties of Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan. Questionnaires were sent to five hundred and forty-six colleges and universities in the United States for the purpose of ascertaining the number of students taking courses in German, the number of these that were of German descent, and what contributions to German-American his-

tory had been made by instructors or students in the German departments.

But the most ambitious part of the committee's programme was a huge Bismarck celebration, staged at the leading state university of the Middle West. Curiously enough, this strangely exotic affair was planned for the year 1914—the Bismarck centennial did not occur until 1915. However, the university outdid itself in honour of the German statesman. Never had the campus witnessed so imposing a demonstration in honour of any hero, foreign or domestic. The great university auditorium was loaned for the occasion—a thing that had never been done before—members of the faculty turned out *en masse*, the state schoolmasters, then in session, adjourned for the event. German societies from all the cities of the state attended, music was furnished by the university glee club, by members of the conservatory and by the assembled *maennerchors*, a member of the National German-American Alliance acted as chairman, and the guest of the occasion, the cynosure of all eyes, was the Imperial German Consul-General from Chi-

chicago, who delivered an address on "Germany's Economic Development since 1871."

Before the end of the year the offices and staff of the consulate general in Chicago were being used to hire thugs and purchase dynamite to destroy by wholesale lives and property in the state which supported that university.

And when the hirelings of the Chicago consulate general were finally caught, and the facts disclosed in the course of a long trial in the district court, many who had joined in doing honour to Germany's representative be-thought themselves of the strangely ironical fate that had decreed that the famous Bismarck celebration of 1914 should fall on All Fools' Day!

This incident does not apply solely to the one university involved; on the contrary, it is characteristic of the ascendancy which *Kultur* had acquired in all our institutions of learning and throughout our entire educational system.

IV

GERMAN PROPAGANDA THROUGH
AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

IMMEDIATELY upon the outbreak of the world war the forces of *Kultur* in America began their mobilisation. In the bewilderment of those first August days before war had even been declared between Great Britain and Germany,—while Americans were anxiously inquiring the meaning of it all, the issues involved, who and what was responsible for the world catastrophe—was it Serbia, or Russia, or the Czar or could it be the Kaiser or the junker party in Germany, or was it British commercial jealousies—the National German-American Alliance came forth as the one body fortified for the emergency and fully decided as to the course it should pursue. The president of the Alliance at once sent an appeal to “all those who had studied in German universities” to inaugurate a propaganda “on behalf of the Ger-

man cause." He closed the appeal with the significant words:

I have learned from a responsible source that in the event that England is defeated an attempt will be made to draw the United States into an alliance with England. Therefore, it is important at the very outset to show what a colossal power the citizens of German descent are able to wield.

A flood of light would certainly be shed upon the subsequent propaganda in the United States if the "responsible source" indicated by the head of the Alliance were disclosed.

The time had come to use the educational prestige which Germany had been cultivating for so many years. In September "the Universities of the German Empire" sent their appeal to the "Universities of Foreign Lands" in protest against the reports of German barbarities. Then came the "Appeal to the Civilised World" signed by the professors of Germany, with the reiterated "it is not true."

"It is not true," the appeal read, "that Germany brought on the war. . . . It is not true that we ruthlessly violated the neutrality of Belgium. . . . It is not true that either the life

or the property of a single Belgian civilian has been touched by our soldiers except out of most bitter necessity. . . . It is not true that our troops were guilty of brutalities in Louvain. . . . It is not true that our warfare is violating the rules of international law. . . . It is not true that the war against so-called militarism is not a war against our *Kultur*, as our enemies hypocritically assert. . . . Believe us! Believe that we will fight this war to its conclusion as a civilised people, a people to whom the heritage of a Goethe, of a Beethoven, and of a Kant is just as sacred as its hearth and lintel!"

The Jena professors, Haeckel and Eucken, sent an open letter to their colleagues and admirers denouncing Great Britain for fighting on the side of Russia, declaring that Russia was responsible for beginning the war in that she refused prompt and adequate punishment for a miserable assassination, imputing to Great Britain envy as her motive and ridiculing as a hypocritical pharisaism the British claim that the violation of Belgian neutrality had brought them into the war.

Finally, the gymnasium instructors issued

their manifesto: "It fills us with indignation that the enemies of Germany, with England at their head, ostensibly in our favour, make a distinction between the spirit of German science and the spirit of what they call Prussian militarism. In the German army there is no different spirit from that which prevails in the German people, for both are the same, and we also belong thereto. . . . Our belief is that the entire culture of Europe depends for its welfare on the victory which German militarism will win through the valour and faithfulness of our men and through the sacrifice of the free and united German people." The only trouble with all these declarations was that they proved too much—the identification of German science and *Kultur* with Prussian militarism has proved to be only too accurate—German education, German science and *Kultur* were long since made part of the military machine, and submission to one meant, ultimately, complete and hopeless submission to the other.

However, ubiquitous German agents in the United States quickly herded German sympathisers and the dupes of *Kultur* into organisations with high sounding names.

It has been found that whenever a movement offered possibilities of usefulness to Germany, a German agent has been on hand to offer gratuitous service, advice, guidance, and even financial assistance. This was true of the organisation known as "Labour's National Peace Council" and its connection with the notorious international crook and spy von Rintelen; of the "Friends of Peace" and their organiser, Albert Sander, who turned out to be a German spy; of the San Francisco organisation known as the "Friends of Peace and Neutrality" and their secretary who happened to be in the pay of the German government; of the "American Embargo Conference"; of the "Women's League for Strict Neutrality"—and many others. And this was true of the organisation of university men now formed.

In November there was held in New York a gathering of old German students for the purpose of devising ways and means of assisting their colleagues in the war. It was the general opinion that something more must be done than merely to raise funds for the relief of suffering—the righteousness of Germany's cause must be presented to the American people.

So there came to be formed the German University League with professors from Columbia, Chicago, Princeton, Vanderbilt, Brown and many other institutions on its board of trustees and in its list of sponsors. The academic world of America was to be the field of its propaganda. In Germany it related itself to "The League of German Scholars and Artists"—in America it affiliated itself with the Inter-Collegiate League of German Clubs. No sooner was the organisation perfected than a German agent was on hand offering his services as secretary free of all expense—and the man continued as the executive head of the League until his arrest and internment in December, 1917.

Through pamphlets, lectures and correspondence, the League aimed to enlist the sympathies of university and college instructors. But it went further than this. Like other pro-German organisations, it sought to create the impression that it represented, more truly than the administration, the American people, and thus to turn the sharp edge of our diplomacy. When on April 18, 1916, this government had denounced in the most vigorous and uncompro-

missing terms of which the English language is capable, the torpedoing of the *Sussex* and Germany's entire submarine warfare, the League took upon itself to neutralise the effect of the note by sending a wireless message to Rector Dr. Ulrich von Wilamowitz Moellendorf, of Friedrich Wilhelm University, Berlin. This is what these self-constituted spokesmen for the American people said:

We, citizens of the United States, Trustees of the German University League of America, wish to express to your magnificence our strong desire to see peace preserved between the United States and Germany. Knowing both countries well, we fear that Germany may interpret the message of our President as a provocation, something surely not intended. On the contrary, we are convinced that the majority of the American people wish to have the relations of amity maintained, which have always existed between your country and our country. To help in avoiding the calamity of a misinterpretation we ask you to bring this view to the attention of the German people.

In this way it contributed its part to the impression that prevailed in German official cir-

cles that the United States would not dare to take a firm stand for fear of an insurrection of its German and pro-German elements.

Early in the war the Germanistic societies were summoned to do their share. The society of Chicago issued several pamphlets favouring the German cause, and its work was duly acknowledged in the Fatherland. The New York society, however, failed to respond, and the pro-German members were urged to oust the delinquent officers and turn the organisation to some account. American exchange professors were called upon to uphold Germany's cause, and several of them toured the country in that behalf, speaking under the auspices of historical societies, neutrality leagues and branches of the National German-American Alliance. Kuno Meyer, Professor of Celtic Philology, at one time suggested as an exchange professor at Harvard, laboured for the German cause among those of Irish descent; Moritz J. Bonn, who had held the Jacob H. Schiff professorship at Cornell and the Carl Schurz Memorial professorship at Wisconsin, and Eugene Kuehnemann, who had

held the same professorships, devoted themselves unremittingly to propaganda work.

Professors of German birth in American universities made no secret of their partisanship and many used their class rooms for propaganda purposes. They even carried their partisanship into their social relations. A former student visiting his Alma Mater called upon one of these gentlemen under whom he had studied in his college days. He was met by his former instructor with the typically Prussian rebuff that "he was not in the practice of receiving people whose sympathies were against Germany." These professors were in certain cases used also by the German government to report the attitude of their colleagues. A professor at an eastern university happened to write to a former colleague in Germany expressing his disapproval of German policies and of Germany's conduct of the war. Several months later his letter, having passed through the Berlin foreign office and through the German embassy in Washington, was presented to the President of the University by a member of the German department and the demand was made that the offending colleague be dis-

ciplined. With shame be it recorded that the president of the University summoned the professor in question and warned him against giving expression to "unneutral" sentiments.

But the common sense of our people proved more trustworthy in its judgment than the brains of our intellectuals. The rape of Belgium and the crime of the *Lusitania* could not be excused or condoned by any sophistry. As time went on public sentiment swung more and more strongly to the side of the Allies. Any hope of a benevolent neutrality on the part of America vanished. "Is it for this," the Kaiser is reported to have exclaimed, "that I permitted myself to be bored by the lectures of those tiresome American professors!"

The disappointment in academic circles was keen. "Right here," declared Eduard Meyer, "we thought we had won firm ground, both by the efforts of the Kaiser and of German diplomats, and by the ever increasing and more intimate personal relationships which were permitted by our government in every possible means through the exchange of professors, through the visits of numerous German scholars, orators and artists, through the

friendly reception accorded to the thousands of Americans who visited Germany every year, as students in the universities and schools of music, as merchants and tourists. It seemed that the ground was prepared for such a *rap-prochement* through the opposition between England and America dating from the days of the Revolutionary War." And his conclusion is that: "We can compel the Americans to respect us through our successes, but more we cannot do and we must not try to do it, if we respect ourselves and if we do not wish to injure again our prestige in the world, as we did in the last decade through our efforts for the favour of America and of other foreign nations in altogether too great a measure. For this reason also the exchange professorships which were introduced by the government against the desire of the universities over a decade ago at Harvard and at Columbia should be discontinued, since these universities have made their unfriendly attitude so plain; and if ever again the attempt is made to introduce these exchange professorships, we hope that no German scholar will lower himself to the

extent of accepting an invitation to lecture at one of these institutions."

Herman Oncken, some time professor at the University of Chicago, was equally emphatic in expressing his chagrin. But he warned his academic colleagues that America would yet experience how Germany, changed from her winning ways, would emerge from the war "a proud and a hard nation."

Eugene Kuehnemann, after travelling seventy thousand miles, visiting one hundred and thirty-seven cities, and giving one hundred and twenty-one addresses in English and two hundred and seventy-five in German, returned with Bernstorff to Germany. He confessed that even in America the majority were incapable of enlightenment—the only hope for the country lay in its population of German origin.

V

NEW IDEALS IN AMERICAN
EDUCATION

FOR the present, America has shaken off the toils of the German conspiracy. In the light of our awakening, text books have been examined and condemned: Chicago tore from her speller the offending allusion to the Kaiser whose perjured adulation so long disgraced her school rooms. New York placed most of the text books of German instruction upon the index. From the universities there has been a steady exodus of those whose efforts were in the interest of the German cause rather than in the interest of education.

But let us not delude ourselves into thinking that German propaganda has been extirpated. Before the hot blast of public indignation it went under cover, merely to await its opportunity. That opportunity has now come.

With the signing of the Armistice the strain

of war has been relaxed, and public opinion, until recently concentrated upon attaining an overwhelming victory, is again disintegrating. The nation followed unquestioningly the leadership of the President in the prosecution of the war against Germany—now that hostilities have been suspended, the terms of peace are slipping into the arena of public debate and into the field of practical politics. The pro-German agitator, the German agent, the spy, the radical socialist, the Bolshevist and others who use camouflaged theories only to mask their true purposes, are again lifting their heads. Again politicians are cautiously placating the "German vote" for private gain. Unless the nation maintains its vigilance and is as single-minded in its peace aims as in the prosecution of the war, the sacrifices of the last four years may prove to be merely the introduction to an even greater tragedy in the future.

Every college campus in the country has been turned into a drill field. But the citizen soldier must be trained in mind and morale as well as in physique, and our education must take account of this, its largest responsibility.

We must insist that every boy and every girl be brought up with a knowledge of the origins and nature of our society. This has been our obvious failure in the past. Over the principal gateway of the nation's capital are inscribed the words: "He that would bring home the wealth of the Indies must carry the wealth of the Indies with him; so it is with travelling. A man must carry knowledge with him if he would bring home knowledge." Had the thousands of young men who during the past forty years have entered German universities heeded this counsel, they would have realised that the threat against democracy did not begin on April 2, 1917, that it did not begin with the assassination of the *Lusitania*, nor with the rape of Belgium; they would have divined the truth from all that they saw in Germany that the threat of autocracy began with the suppression of the liberal movement in 1848, and that from that date the threat became more menacing year by year. Instead, they fell into the goose-step of *Kultur*, without realising whither the march was directed. They brought back valuable knowledge of the methods of minute

research but their capacity for broader vision was hopelessly atrophied.

Instruction in the German language may be appropriate for the technician and the scientist, but it should never again be permitted in the elementary or high schools. We may well take a leaf from the science of philology as developed in Germany; a nation's life, so German scientists have taught, is embodied in its speech. Applying this conclusion we find that the ideas which are fundamental in our institutions cannot be translated into modern German. Let any one who doubts this statement attempt to render into the Kaiser's language the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence; he will find no equivalents for such expressions as "liberty," "pursuit of happiness," "the consent of the governed." Nor can he find in the German language a means for adequately expressing the concluding sentence in which the authors pledge to each other "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honour." When Professor Gneist wrote his work on "Self-Government" he searched for a German equivalent for that concept. He could find none, and finally in despair entitled his monumental

treatise with the English expression, and wherever the idea comes up in the discussion, the English words are used without any attempt at translation. And to-day, when emperors, kings and princes are fleeing before the wrath of their subjects, the *Marseillaise* is being sung in Berlin and in Vienna! The ideas of individual liberty developed through the history of England, France and America have so long encountered a blank spot in the German brain that there is in the language no medium for their expression. No man of German descent can become thoroughly American while retaining allegiance to the German language; no man of any race can become an American at heart until he seeks to make the English language not merely the language of his business, but also of his fireside.

All this is said with a due appreciation for the treasures of German literature. But the associations of the German language with the atrocities of the war are such that the world can never again enjoy the German classics until the memories of the present generation shall have been effaced. And this is not the least of the tragedies for which the instigators of

the war must answer! When finally we have placed the German language on the road to extinction as a political and commercial medium, then we will return and bring our tribute to Schiller, Goethe and Lessing, well knowing that those great spirits, if present with us to-day, would require that we do that very thing.

And here we come upon the question of the foreign language press. Even with the best of intentions on the part of editors of individual newspapers, still the interests of this press as a whole are opposed to the progress of Americanisation. It is urged that foreign language publications perform a valuable function in mediating between the immigrant and his new environment and in preparing him for citizenship. Let this be granted. But if the immigrant makes any progress whatever in Americanisation, if he acquires a knowledge of the English language, then he prefers the broader outlook afforded by the American press. The foreign language newspaper loses his patronage. For this very reason the foreign language press is constantly insisting that the immigrant retain his native language. It has opposed every measure which would require a

knowledge of English as a requisite for naturalisation or for the exercise of the franchise. In this respect the German language newspapers have been the most rabid offenders.

The position of the foreign language newspapers is precarious at best. It is only by the utmost exertions that they can maintain their circulations. They are constantly faced with financial difficulties. This condition renders them particularly susceptible to temptation and they fall an easy prey to politicians, propagandists or other interests that can offer a bonus for whatever influence they may possess. Witness the eagerness with which four hundred foreign language editors in April, 1915, subscribed and published Dr. Albert's plea for an embargo on munitions, all at exceedingly liberal advertising rates! Witness their constant diatribes against prohibition "on moral grounds," and at the same time their itching importunity for a share in the brewers' slush fund!

The task of Americanisation must no longer be left to the foreign language press. It must be assumed by the American press and by every other agency of our public life. We may justly

demand that the man who comes here to make his living, to acquire property and to enjoy the protection of our laws shall become American not merely in a political sense, as the leaders of the German movement in America have always insisted, but that he become American in language, thought and spirit. One of the conditions for the settlement of Europe's turmoil is to be the self-determination of nationalities. While we are demanding self-determination for Jugo-Slavs, Poles, Lithuanians, Czecho-Slovaks and Finns we have at least the right to demand self-determination for America. And it is only through Americanisation that we can create the unity of spirit and the morale which will be needed to weather the turmoil of the coming years when Central Europe, breaking from the past, will become the whirlpool of Bolshevism and of every other frenzy which refuses to recognise organic development. Already the waves have broken over our borders; they will rise higher and lash with greater fury in the future.

Our American life has often been disparaged as superficial. Our education has tended to make it so. We have too long proceeded upon

the erroneous assumption that our history began with the Declaration of Independence, or with the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, or even with the discovery of our continent. We have wilfully separated ourselves from the tap-root of our existence, which reaches far back into the fertile soil of English literature and English history. Many of our German-trained educators have felt the need of a deeper nourishment, and mesmerised by the prestidigitations of *Kultur*, have attempted the violent process of grafting us upon a German stock. We know now that we could not have survived such a process. It would have resulted in choking out everything that is American and in producing a ranker and a more noxious growth of *Kultur*. We must go back to the sources of our history; we are the descendants of those who landed on the Isle of Thanet; King Alfred and the Barons of Runnymede belong to us; we claim our share in the glories of English discovery and in the defeat of the Armada; Hampden and Pym and all who stood forth for liberty we claim as ours.

And while we derive our precepts of practical individual right from England, let us

never forget that our idealism had its birth in France and that the roots of our being extend into her sacred soil. We see before us the silvery armour of Joan of Arc, the white plume of Henry of Navarre; we claim kinship with the ragged armies of the Revolution which shook every despotism of Europe with the battle-cry of "Liberty, fraternity and equality."

We have strayed far in the exuberance of our youth, but in these serious times we are returning as prodigals to claim our inheritance in the greatness of our parent countries, England and France!

